

Industrial Worker

"AN INJURY TO ONE IS AN INJURY TO ALL!"

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WORKERS OF THE WORLD! DEMAND THE RELEASE OF ETTOR AND GIOVANNITTI!

BATTLING B. T. W. FORM JAIL UNION

REBELLIOUS PRISONERS FORM UNION IN JAIL—BLACK HOLE OF CALCASIEU IS LABOR'S RECRUITING GROUND—NO COLOR LINE DRAWN IN PRISON—REBELS ARE RISING.

On August 15th a charter was issued by the Brotherhood of Timber Workers to the following white and colored workers:
White: Pat Perkins, R. W. Perry, John Perry, L. Peiry, J. M. Richley, Joe Rogers, J. H. Simpson, W. D. Smith, S. B. Slaydon, W. R. Stacey, Ben Sturgis, C. D. Woodard, Leon Zebeau, Chas. Zebeau, C. E. Jones, John Killen, C. Leblue, B. J. Lee, George M. Lacey, Ed. Lehman, J. W. Moor, W. A. Mathis, Frank McBride, R. Parkham, J. Pennington, Chas. Gibbons, Josh Perkins, Walter Delcour, Williams Davis, Andy Denby, A. I. Emerson, Will Estes, Ed. Eyell, Frank Farr, G. H. Gibson, G. M. Grim, J. H. C. Helton, C. Havens, C. C. Holley, Arthur Hammonds, R. V. Hennigan, W. E. Hollingsworth, H. L. McFillen, A. H. Burge, R. D. Burge, J. H. Bally, A. A. Bondreux, J. W. Bowers, L. H. Brown, Waldon Cooley, W. A. Chatham, A. R. Cryar, A. F. Creed, Jeff Cooper, B. B. Collier, Tom Cooper, J. W. Caille, J. D. Perkins, Herman Slaydon, Charlie Hampton, O. P. Bell, John Hood.
Colored: Peter Blackman, Elisha Fowler, Jason Clark, Garfield Holcomb, Pink Morris, Sias Anderson, H. Green, Jim Cotton, Robert Chopin, Dennis Myles, Robert Johnson, Milton Mitchell, Robert Milton.

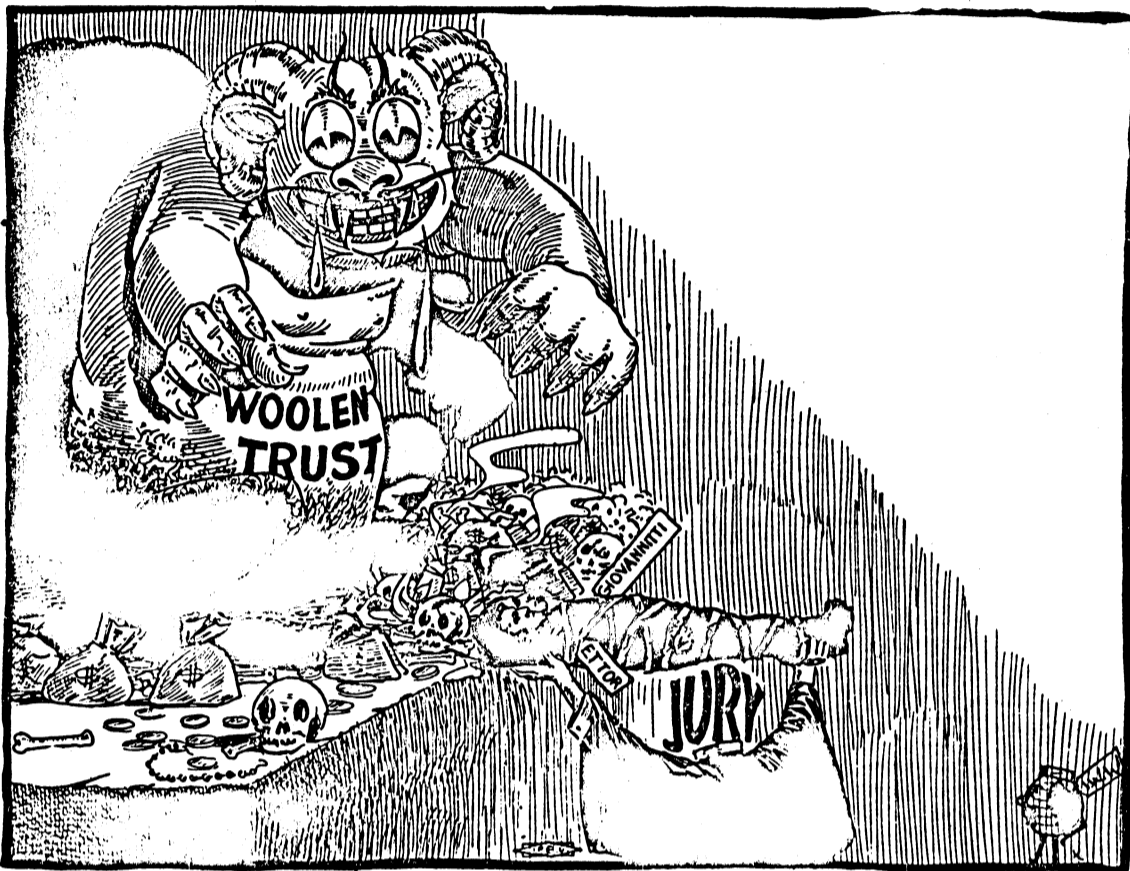
These boys compose the roll of honor making up the membership of Local Union, Jail No. 1, B. of T. W., office address, Parish Prison, Lake Charles, La. They also organized a local of the Socialist Party, Jail No. 1, with 54 members and both locals are still growing. Men are coming into the prison every day and joining, or sending in their applications. This is, indeed, the deathless spirit, the spirit that must and will conquer all before it. Dead, the souls of these boys will do a mightier work for the emancipation of their class than ever yet; imprisoned, yet their voices will be heard and, mingling with the cries of Ettor and Giovanni, all the workers of the world will be awakened, triumphant the hosts of labor will arise and the social revolution be an accomplished fact. Truly did Edward Bellamy speak when he said: "No master class has ever learned anything from the experience of its predecessors and the capitalist class will be no exception to that rule." Down here in the land of Dixie the slugging committee of the capitalist class is still busy, just as it was in Lawrence, just as it is in Canada and San Diego,—power(?)—erazed, gold-drunk hyenas trying to slug and shoot back the onward, upward march of the human race! Those who base their system on a thug's heroism and a detective's honor, this is what the capitalist class has already degenerated to, and this is the surest sign of a system's fall.
All that is now left for the working class to do to end its age-long misery is to unite and rise in ONE BIG UNION.

RISE!
Save Ettor, Giovanni, Emerson, Lehman, and all the other hero lumberjacks now in the Black Hole of Calcasieu!

RISE!
Clan of Toll, awaken! Rebels of the South, arise! Workers of the World, unite! You have nothing but your chains to lose! You have a World to gain!

RISE!
Organize! Organize!!! Organize!!!
COVINGTON HALL.

LEST WE FORGET
As an indication that industrial peace has not yet been established, despite the declarations of so many of our "Friends," who just now are shaking us by the hand to make us feel like helping them get jobs, we might call attention to the fact that 51 labor leaders are to face a federal judge in Indianapolis next October, on Conspiracy charges.
And we should not forget that Ettor and Giovanni are to be tried in Lawrence, Mass., for a murder committed by a policeman.
And President Emerson of the Brotherhood of Timber Workers with many of his comrades have been indicted for murder, though there is no doubt that the killing was committed by the hired thugs of the timber barons.
Perhaps it might be a good suggestion for some of us to place at least a part of our share of the political campaign funds in the defense funds of these REAL champions of our cause.
—Hoquiam (Wash.) Free Press.



WILL THE WOOLEN TRUST DARE DEMAND THE SACRIFICE OF ETTOR AND GIOVANNITTI?

G. T. P. STRIKERS CONFIDENT OF VICTORY

The strike of the G. T. P. has been on now about six weeks and we are gaining every day. Quite a number of men are coming down and the scabs going up there to work are very few.
Prince Rupert is full of contractors and their hirelings looking for scabs, but results are poor.
On the 25th the train brought in 15 men from the camps at Sealy—even these men could not stand to be treated like dogs. On the 26th five scabs went up the line, they came with a small bunch from Vancouver, but the remainder of the bunch stayed here and joined the union.
On August 26 forty-six men struck on the ballasting gang of the G. T. P. on account of poor grub and rotten conditions.
On August 29 there arrived the largest shipment of men since the beginning of the strike, from Vancouver—50 men in all. The contractors got sixteen out of this bunch, the others staying at the I. W. W. Hotel.
Two ladies canvassed the city with a sub-

scription list for the benefit of the strike fund. A dirty little political sheet, the Daily News, published a most contemptible article about them. The husbands of both ladies are prominent hotel keepers and had steady ads running in the aforementioned sheet. These ads have been withdrawn and many others are to follow. Organized labor in Prince Rupert will make the subscription list of the Daily News look sick and do all within their power to withdraw advertisements.

Other papers are taking up the woes of the contractors. That stool pigeon sheet, the Vancouver Sun, on August 22 had a long article telling all sorts of lies about the strikers. As usual they contradict themselves in the same article. For instance, the first paragraph states that the strike "has fizzled out" and then later on says "The strike has disorganized the work to such an extent that the completion of the Grand Trunk Pacific is liable to be delayed another year." But the strongest point in the article is the fairy tales about the meals served to the construction workers by the generous contractors. This point is as strong as the butter in a G. T. P. boarding house. Listen to this: "A meal supplied in a railway camp could not be secured in a restaurant in Vancouver for less than \$1." We guarantee that if the health officers were on their job it couldn't be secured in Vancouver at all.
The Daily News of Prince Rupert says that there is no possibility of a strike on the eastern end of the line, as the contractors own absolutely everything there and the strikers could get no supplies. In other words, the men are peons on the eastern end of the G. T. P., according to the contractors.
As long as the locals in the shipping centers keep their pickets busy we are sure to win.
PRESS COMMITTEE, L. U. 326, I. W. W. Prince Rupert, B. C.

CLEVELAND DECLINES WITH THANKS

The officious police of Cleveland, Ohio, arrested four members of the I. W. W. on August 28 and charged them with preaching "anarchy." The arrested men were Meyer Friedkin, Chas. Houckenbrouch, Ralph Radke and Albert Praasher.

Judge Levine asked Sergeant Meeker what "anarchy" was. After squirming around uneasily for a few moments this brainy bluecoat said: "I don't know, but it's what is printed in their papers." The question should be asked "Can Cleveland cops read?" The men were discharged.

The police were angry because the arrested men had opened their street meetings with that classical hymn from the I. W. W. song book:

"Long-haired preachers come out every night, Try to tell you what's wrong and what's right, But when asked how about something to eat, They will answer with voices so sweet: You will eat by and by In that glorious land above the sky. Work and pray, live on hay, You'll get pie in the sky when you die."

The Cleveland Press rejoices that the city took such prompt steps to prevent a repetition of the San Diego fight. It is said that the police will be ordered to protect the I. W. W. speakers if necessary.

"They have the right to preach anything, except urging people to bloodshed," said Judge Levine. "I find the charge of preaching anarchy is baseless."

Who said the I. W. W. fight in San Diego has accomplished nothing? We are unmolested on many a corner because of the wholesome fear we have inspired. When the San Diego Free Speech Fight is won, and it surely will be, there will be few who will care to stop the fighting union from agitating in "the workers' meeting place."

MINNEAPOLIS, MINN., SEPT. 7, 1912.

INDUSTRIAL WORKER:
FREE SPEECH WAR ON IN MINNEAPOLIS. TWENTY OF OUR MEN AND SOME SOCIALISTS PUT IN JAIL TONIGHT.
REESE.

SOME CLASS TO THIS PROTEST

Earl Osborne writes from Forston, Wash., under date of August 29 as follows:

"After reading the story of the arrest and imprisonment of the boys of the B. T. W. in the state of Louisiana, knowing something of the South myself, knowing the length the Lumber Barons will go to gain their ends, I had a talk with Fellow Worker Hunter of the I. S. W., and realizing the fallacy of sending a written protest to the law and order element of the State of Louisiana, we went among the boys in this mill and camp, McCaughey Mill Co., and as a result we are sending \$30.75 for the defense of the B. T. W. Other camps take the hunch."

The above protest has hip-service and pen-pushing protests skinned a country block. Get in the game, fellow workers, and we'll make the Lumber Lords realize that they have stuck their fingers in a buss saw.

RE-ORGANIZING MCKEES ROCKS

In spite of the presence of a large number of company tools the local at McKees Rocks, Pa., was reorganized by Trautmann, Goff and Ford on August 26. Twenty workers signed the charter application and many others signified their willingness to join within a short time. The first business meeting was held the following Saturday.

Solidarity is planning to have some special propaganda for the Pittsburgh district and within a short time the ONE BIG UNION will make things interesting for the Steel Trust. Watch the I. W. W. grow.

GRIM FACTS CAUSE CHANGED IDEAS

Prior to the strike of the Transport Workers on the Atlantic there were many of the best thinkers in the radical movement who thought it best to work with the craft unions in forming a federation along syndicalistic lines. Their eyes were opened by the grim facts when their strike was defeated by the treachery of craft union officials who made the usual division along craft lines. They are changing their ideas now to square with the facts.

On the question of the Marine Firemen, Oilers and Watertenders' Unions re-affiliation with the International a wide discussion was provoked.

Delegate J. Martinez pointed to the laws against those workers who did not speak English, and also the refusal to transfer members free. Assistant Secretary R. L. Warwick said that two rival organizations were bound to arise on the coast as well as elsewhere, one class-conscious and the other a mere job trust. J. Vidal opposed affiliation on the ground that the International believed in and practiced long duration strikes which were uniformly unsuccessful, and also because they did not allow educational work to be carried on with union funds. He favored industrial organization.

M. H. Woolman stated that he believed in propagating the General Strike, Direct Action, and Industrial Unionism. He said: "The ideas of industrialists and class conscious workers are entirely at loggerheads with those held by craft unionists in the International and will always come in conflict with one another." J. Azpilcueta opposed affiliation because it would mean the placing of two burdens on the Marine Firemen, the long term contract and the fear of being scabbed upon by affiliated unions.

Theories have disappeared in the face of facts and the Marine Firemen know that their only hope lies in having one big revolutionary union of the workers in the transportation industry.

MILL OWNERS ARE IN CONSPIRACY

LAWRENCE GANG OF DYNAMITERS ARE CAUGHT AT LAST—BREEN, THE UNDERTAKER, BUT THE TOOL OF RICH MILL OWNERS—ALL CONSPIRATORS ARE RICH MEN.
(Special to the "Worker".)

For the first time in the history of the labor movement of America, the class of parasites who have been instrumental in destroying labor unions and sending innocent men and women to jail, have at last been caught with the "goods" on them.

Rather than appear before the grand jury August 29th and tell what he knew of the conspiracy to "plant" dynamite in the homes of four Syrian families in Lawrence during the great textile strike, Ernest W. Pitman, a wealthy mill owner, with wife and daughter, blew his brains out in his garage. This fellow had talked too much. In an evening of jollification in the leading hotel in Boston some few days ago, Pitman confidentially told District Attorney Pelittier of Suffolk county all about the dynamite conspiracy and the prominent part he played in the handling of the powder, etc. He took Pelittier as his friend and trusted him. But Pelittier is running against Foss for Governor of the state of Massachusetts and this was evidently a juicy morsel for the aspirant for political honors.

The old saying that "Whom the Gods would destroy they first make mad" has been changed to "Whom the Gods would destroy they first make drunk." Be that as it may, the report is current that Pelittier got this rich mill builder in the realms of the flower kingdom and he coughed up his story about dynamite. He believed that since Breen, the undertaker, was fined \$500.00 for illegally transporting dynamite that the dynamiting incident was a closed chapter and it would be all right to tell his bosom friend the true story.

The result of this story has caused the death of Pitman, as he could not face his friends and benefactors before the courts and the people, so, as stated, committed suicide previous to the day of the investigation by the grand jury before whom he was summoned to appear.

William Wood, the leading capitalist and head of the American Woolen company, has been indicted by the grand jury and is out on \$5,000.00 bail. He had the money all ready and was accompanied by his attorney and the money was shelled out in five one thousand dollar bills. This is some of the blood money as a result of wage slavery in his mills. No man or woman who works in his mills could produce \$100.00 bail, but then, they are the producers of wealth and there is much difference between a wealth producer and a parasite and dynamiter.

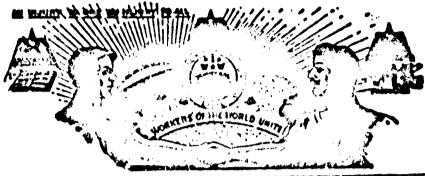
The subsidized press of Lawrence would gladly bury this capitalist game if it were possible but "like Blanco's ghost it will not down."

Every one is talking dynamiting. Excitement is running high and people are wondering what will become of these leading capitalists and dynamiters, especially in view of the fact that conviction will mean 10 years in prison. The defence of Ettor and Giovanni are losing no time in order to make the world acquainted with this dynamiting outrage and the fact that Ettor and Giovanni are still in prison as the result of another capitalist "plant". We have proven to the world that the master class are criminals and will stop at no crime in order to protect their ill gotten gains called profits. The defence office has been requested to make a statement for the daily papers and we submitted the following:

Statement of the I. W. W.
The latest developments in the dynamiting conspiracy has caused no sensation among members of the I. W. W. We were aware at the time of the "planting" that it was a capitalist conspiracy and a dastardly game to discredit the strikers and probably send a lot of innocent people to jail for long terms with possibilities for the death sentence had the powder exploded. Had the conspiracy worked out as intended, the workers of the textile mills of Lawrence would have also been forced back to work in the modern hell holes which promises nothing to thousands but a mere existence and a living death.

Joseph J. Ettor, who is now laying in the county jail in Lawrence awaiting trial on the trumped up charge of being "accessory before the fact" to murder (during the strike in which a young girl was shot by a policeman, if evidence amounts to anything), stated at the time the dynamite was planted that it was a "plant". We have always contended that Breen was but the tool of others and must have had other
(Continued on page four.)

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CASH MUST ACCOMPANY ALL ORDERS

INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD

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Vincent St. John General Sec'y-Treas.

Jas. P. Thompson General Organizer

GENERAL EXECUTIVE BOARD

Joe. J. Ettor, Thos. Halcro, Ewald Koettgen, F. M. Little, Geo. Speed

Entered as second-class matter, May 21, 1910, at the Postoffice at Spokane, Wash., under the Act of March 3, 1879.

Freedom has a thousand charms to show
That slaves, howe'er contented, never know.—Cowper.

SPEEDING UP

On a certain job in a large city was one of those boss loving individuals who are known as speeders. This one was unusually weak in the head and strong in the back, and his pace setting made even the strong men on the crew feel all in at the close of a day's labor.

There happened to come upon the job an I. W. W. whose "morals" were so warped that he did not give a whoop about the "sacred rights of property" as laid down in section six of article two of the Socialist constitution. This member of the "unregenerate rabble" stood it until noontime and then took note of where the speeder stored his "Irish buggy." Slipping carefully over to the barrow, while the speeder was throwing loving glances at the straw boss, the "criminal" tightened the nuts with a few deft turns of a monkey wrench.

By the time three o'clock had arrived the company sucker felt quite ill and asked for a layoff for the balance of the day. Moral: Don't wear wooden shoes, for they hurt the bosses' feet.

THE LAW, THE CRAFTS AND THE REBELS

In New Bedford, Mass., there are 13,000 textile workers locked out by the employing class. The mill barons hope to wield the whip of starvation so as to force these cotton workers to give up their membership in the I. W. W.

Massachusetts and Rhode Island authorities have said that no funds may be solicited for these workers. They have interpreted their laws to mean that the locked out men, women and children may not ask for financial assistance.

Craft unionists are at work in the mills as the result of a conspiracy between the Cotton Operators' Association and the corrupt officials of the A. F. of L. and the United Textile Workers. This in spite of the fact that the I. W. W. has repeatedly shown their willingness to aid the craft union textile workers whenever they have struck.

The locked out workers are as rebellious as ever. They refuse to give up their membership in the only union worth while. They have determined to fight it out to a finish. But they need your aid.

In defiance of the capitalist laws passed by crooked officials, at the behest of the grafting mill owners, the workers are asking for funds. If one is jailed, the whole 13,000 stand ready to follow.

They propose to fight their battle from the inside of prison walls at the expense of those who acquiesce in such conditions.

Contempt for craft union officials who allow organized scabbery, contempt for capitalist law which is invoked against them, and contempt for the whole wage system is bred in the New Bedford lockout.

Rebellious workers should aid in the fight. Send funds to Walter Barlow, 45 Delano Street, New Bedford, Mass.

"JUSTICE! PHEW!"

When Joe Ettor went to Lawrence, Mass., to aid in the great strike he was feared by the masters of the bread. The Woolen Trust had their agents plant dynamite in different places in order to discredit him by making a discovery that he was a "dynamiter." The attempt failed because John J. Breen was a bungler.

Following closely upon the heels of the "dynamite planting" came the murder of Anna Lo Pezzi at the hands of Police Officer Oscar Benoit (according to numerous witnesses) and the subsequent arrest of Ettor and Giovannitti on the charge of "Accessory before the fact of murder."

These two men were not allowed bail and are still languishing in jail. There is no one who considers them guilty, least of all the mill barons. But they are held nevertheless.

An investigation into the bungled dynamite plant served to disclose the names of some of the eminently respectable pillars of society who were behind the attempt. Ernest Pitmann committed suicide rather than face the Grand Jury. William Wood was indicted. Other mill owners are under a cloud and may be arrested.

Does this mean that the law serves the rich and poor alike? Not at all. This development in the case comes not from the desire to aid the workers or even to render that mythical thing called "Justice," but because there are financial interests endeavoring to gain control of the Wood interests in the woolen industry, and also because there are two sets of job hunters

looking for political office in the state of Massachusetts.

The inequality of the thing can be seen from the fact that Wood was allowed to go on bail without even entering the jail. He was even notified in advance that his arrest would take place.

What the workers must now do is to demand the immediate release of Ettor and Giovannitti and strive to gain all additional power possible so that we can make our demand more than idle talk. Force is the only thing the capitalists fear. Our force lies in the control of our own labor power. We must organize more strongly so as to be able to invoke the general strike if need be. Other weapons are but side arms and the organization of the workers at the point of production is the 12-inch gun of the rebels.

Meanwhile if capitalism wants to be consistent let them either send William Wood and his associates to the penitentiary or else release the McNamara brothers from San Quentin.

HOW NOT TO DO IT

San Francisco is giving the workers a good example of how not to do it. The following clipping from the San Francisco Bulletin of August 27 shows the methods of craft unionism in what has been called "the best organized city in America."

"The strike of the housemiths and architectural iron workers for an eight-hour day in shops, which was called yesterday, will not involve any other trade or craft and promises to be of short duration.

"The strike was called in direct violation of the rules of the Building Trades Council and has not been sanctioned by that body. In fact, the Building Trades Council's representatives, including all the business agents of the affiliated unions, at a special session, by a vote of 28 to 7, instructed Housemiths and Architectural Iron Workers' Union No. 78 not to call its members out on strike, as, in the opinion of the Building Trades Council, the time is inopportune for such a procedure and will work an unnecessary hardship upon the employers who are called upon to compete with Eastern firms where the nine-hour day prevails in all but two shops.

"Notwithstanding this action of the representatives of the Building Trades Council, the members of the Housemiths and Architectural Iron Workers' Union were ordered out on strike yesterday, about 300 men being involved.

"The Building Trades Council today ordered the strikers back to work, and in case of their refusal to comply with instructions of the council, steps will be taken by the Building Trades Council to fill the places made vacant by the striking housemiths and architectural iron workers."

In 16 shops the strikers gained the eight-hour day. Only three employers refused the demands. The men enjoyed an eight-hour day for two days and then were forced by the Council to return to the nine-hour day. A clearer case of the crime of craft unionism could not be shown.

A San Francisco correspondent asks what is to prevent the I. W. W. from becoming "made to order unionism" like the above. Here are a few of the reasons shown by contrast with craft unionism.

The craft unions were formed on the basis of "identity of interests between employer and employe" and the tree is bearing its logical fruit. Organizations are susceptible to slight changes at all times, but there is not a case on record where the original basis was entirely departed from. It is quite natural for the identity dope to be followed by the imposition of extra hours of labor on the rank and file in order not to "work an unnecessary hardship on the employers."

The I. W. W., on the other hand, was based upon the fact that "the working class and the employing class have nothing in common." Every action in its career has carried with it that thought. It is the policy of the industrialists to take advantage, as far as possible, of the quarrels among the exploiters of labor. When employers fight labor should make demands.

Craft unionism is also based upon the contract system. Contracts put a badge of respectability upon organized scabbery, such as was proposed by the Building Trades Council. Worse still, contracts serve to destroy the initiative of the rank and file.

The I. W. W. sneers at contracts and will have none of them. And in cases of dispute with employers the rank and file are the ones to set the terms themselves. This in itself would prevent any such action as that of the Building Trades Council.

The craft unions have no definite goal in view. Their phrase "A fair day's wages for a fair day's work" has no revolutionary force. It means practically nothing. The I. W. W. fights the daily battles, not only for the better existence thus assured, but also with the idea of abolishing the wages system. A comprehensive aim such as that is the best kind of a compass by which to steer a straight course.

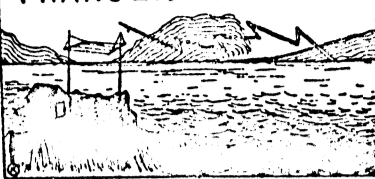
The main reason, however, for saying that the I. W. W. will not become like the A. F. of L., or will not drop its radicalism as the political parties have done, is because, by its very nature, the I. W. W. must be composed largely of proletarians—propertyless workers depending upon the sale of simple labor power. These workers have "nothing to lose but their chains." There is no lower strata of society to which they may drop. There is no feature of their lives worth conserving. They are in the position of being on the firing line with no chance for retreat. They must be revolutionary for there is no other alternative.

And as an additional reason we mention that the I. W. W. must be more radical than any other labor organization or the reason for its existence would be destroyed. Let us once cease to be revolutionary and the I. W. W. will die. The revolutionary minority, which would undoubtedly exist as it does in all organizations, would form a new revolutionary body while the conservatives would have no valid reason for remaining out of the crafts.

The whole thing is a surmise, for, instead of showing less revolutionary activity, the I. W. W. shows more each day. And it is reasonably safe to say that the greater our membership and the closer we approach our goal the greater will be our efforts, just as a racer makes the final spurt at the mile post.

And as a final reason for holding the idea that the I. W. W. will not follow the footsteps of the San Francisco Building Trades Council, it may be stated that the whole world is becoming more radical and the only hope of the toilers is bound up in revolution.

TRANSLATED NEWS



INTERNATIONAL BULLETIN OF THE SYNDICALIST MOVEMENT

Canada

The 27th annual congress of the unions of Canada will be opened September 9 at Guelph in the province of Ontario. It is expected that a greater number of delegates will assist than ever before.

Belgium

The movement continues for a general strike in order to obtain universal suffrage. "Le Peuple" published on August 10 a manifesto of which we quote the following passages: "For the third time the Belgium workers will have recourse to the formidable weapon, the general strike, to conquer the universal suffrage which seems more than ever necessary after the scandals of pressure, corruption and fraud revealed by the parliamentary debates. In 1893 over 200,000 workers struck work, and in a few days they had won their cause. In 1902 over 300,000 men came out—after a week they had to declare themselves beaten. To triumph this time more than 500,000 men must strike for five or six weeks. The effort will be great, but not above the strength or the spirit or sacrifice of the Belgian working classes, if their mind is made up."

The congress of liberal workers held at Soignes on August 11 adopted a resolution in favor of universal suffrage. It decided "in the name of the affiliated unions to be ready for all sacrifices which might be necessary for the triumph of political equality." The congress gave full power to its committee of the union to take in due time all necessary measures.

Sweden

The union of Swedish bakers has been on strike since June 1. The workers claim an increase of wages and shorter hours. They are standing firm. Some of the employers in Stockholm have succeeded in importing 300 blacklegs from Germany.

The Landesorganisationen, the old reformist center of the Swedish unions, will hold its next congress August 25. The principal question on the programme is the reorganization of the central. There are three opinions on this point: some want to maintain the status quo, some desire the reorganization according to the principles of industrial unions, and there are some members who desire the development of the old unions with a greater liberty of action in the national union and constant relations with the organizations of the same trade in other countries. In January, 1908, the Landesorganisationen had 186,226 members, in January, 1912, 80,129 members.

The "Sverges Arbetares Central Organisation," the new revolutionary syndicalist organization, will hold its congress September 21. This organization has not yet a great importance, but it is constantly growing. The Swedish workers are awaiting the decision of the congress of the old central Landesorganisationen. If the congress will be against the reorganization, the new syndicalist organization is sure to make rapid progress.

The strike at Saragossa has become general on Monday, August 12. All the labor unions took part in it. The origin of the conflict was: For two months the masons, numbering some thousands, have been on strike for the eight-hour day and some other ameliorations in the conditions of work. Some of the employers were disposed to give in, but finally the negotiations failed, owing to the refusal of the other masters. Then the masons asked the help of the other unions. It was given at once. Traffic is paralyzed in the town. Several companies of the civil guards have been sent to help the local police which had taken all precautions. The situation is still critical. This is another one of those solidarity strikes which one day may lead to a social revolution.

POWER VS. TACTICS

(By H. Baar)

A great deal has been said and written about power and tactics, but very little about their relation to each other. The history of the I. W. W. shows that the role which tactics plays in our work is not generally understood. Tactics has been considered too much by itself, isolated too much from power, which alone can make it effective. Tactics is tactics only when backed by sufficient power. This fact is becoming more apparent every day.

It is the function of tactics to increase the efficiency of power through the medium of action. The relation between tactics and power is multiplicative. Let power be 10 and tactics 2, the efficiency will be the product, 20.

Since there is usually an exceptional exhilaration of spirits (mobism) following some brilliant tactical exploit it quite naturally follows that attempts are made to repeat the achievement on some future occasions using the same or better tactics. It is a great temptation, but is just as great an illusion, as we shall presently see.

Since tactics is simply a way of doing things, and since the self sacrifice, the painful plodding, and fortitude of mind which made possible the power we now have, is not embodied in tactics, therefore it is conceived to be the line of least resistance to attain an increased efficiency of let us say 30, through an increase of the factor "tactics" from 2 to 3, which in connection with power or 10 would give the desired result, 30. A little reflection will make it clear that this is not the line of least resistance, and may even be the line of self-destruction.

To increase power from 10 to 15, which, multiplied by tactics 2 would also yield an efficiency of 30, is considered a task of too forbidding proportions, when by a simple turn of the wrist as it were, we can increase tactics from 2 to 3 and get the same result. Yet if power had been increased from 10 to 15, instead of tactics from 2 to 3, it would have been found that with few exceptions tactics would have sympathetically risen in the same proportion, i. e., from 2 to 3. This would have given an efficiency of 3 times 15 or 45. The illusory effect which tactics by itself considered produces on the mind, is on a par with the effect produced by the psychology of numbers. Both illusions receive their compelling force from the deep rooted desire of getting something for nothing, which is a product of the profit system of wealth production. Let us take a rough analogy and see if we can't make the illusion more self-evident.

Take the woodsman and his axe. Let the axe represent power, and the skill and experience of the woodsman represent tactics. Let the strength and endurance of the woodsman represent conditions. This is fair, since in this discussion of the relation of tactics to power in the labor movement, the conditions are assumed as given. We want to change conditions. So does the woodsman. He wants to improve his peculiar working conditions, i. e., he wants to produce a maximum of results with a minimum drain on his strength and endurance.

It is self-evident that an experienced and skillful woodchopper will achieve greater results than one having less skill and experience, all other things being equal.

But that woodsman would be considered insane who attempted to overcome the deficiencies of his axe (power) through more skillful manipulation (tactics), when by the expenditure of a day's labor power or less he could replace his inferior axe with the best to be had. The experienced woodsman takes great pains to keep his axe in the best condition. Why? Because he knows that the efforts thus directed are infinitesimal compared to the loss he would sustain through decreased output, waste of muscular energy, and general breaking down of his system, when the care of his axe is neglected. He knows his skill will have freer play with a well conditioned axe than with a poor one. His body will suffer less wear and tear and his output will be increased. We note that his "tactics" derived its efficacy from his "power," and that the two together produced greater efficiency. We see that when he neglects "power" his "tactics" become practically self-destructive.

The above is equally true though less apparent of the I. W. W. Power and tactics have been treated above as though they were separate and distinct from each other, which they are not. It has been more or less the practice of the I. W. W. to separate them, notably in the San Diego Free Speech Fight. There it has been one continual cry of tactics, tactics, tactics, while it should have been root, root, root for power. The San Diego trouble was mistaken to be a local affair calling for action on a general and comprehensive scale. Fortunately or unfortunately, it happens to be a fact of overshadowing importance, that general action in this particular case, or in all cases for that matter, can be effective only if it be power developing action, i. e., action which develops power at the same time that it effects its immediate purpose. Out of this increased power the proper tactics will develop just as certainly as the power itself was developed. Tactics and power are always inseparably connected.

Wherever they have been separated disaster has almost invariably followed. In those cases where it did not follow, and a victory was achieved, the flush of that victory predisposed to mobism, and in the next battle the awakening came. The history of our Free Speech struggles will throw much light on this question pro and con. If the foregoing analysis is worth the paper it is printed on we are forced to the conclusion that the only way to develop proper tactics is to forget it, and get in and develop power. The reflective reader will at this stage doubtless be thinking: If the development of power is at the same time the development of the tactics corresponding thereto, and the relation between the two is multiplicative, then obviously once we get fairly started, it will be but a short while until we achieve our emancipation.

This conclusion is correct, providing there occurs no gap, break, lull, or lapse in the process of this development of power. This proviso will in my opinion be the central principle of our activity henceforth. If this principle is strictly adhered to, the fight will rapidly acquire greater and greater intensity, but at no time will the I. W. W. be in danger, rather on the other hand will our organization at all times be able to protect every one of its members. It will require great revolutionary stamina to keep the fight developing in accordance with the above principle, but strenuous as the ordeal is rapidly becoming, it is nevertheless the real line of least resistance. It will at all times be found to be far easier to resist than to submit, and if we possess the proper spirit we will not wish it otherwise.

THE RIGHT TO WORK

When an employer concedes a worker the right to work, he abstracts from his labor all that is necessary to support more workers to effect a similar production, and to whom by conceding their right to work the graciousness of the boss, can be suitably rewarded. The organization of the workers into one big union is the only means whereby they can acquire the right to concede the right to work to themselves without having to surrender to a boss for the concession of any right. And the right to work means the right to live. Organize to have the right to live.—Nome Industrial Worker.

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